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THE ORIGIN OF MIGRATION FROM SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE TO CANADA¹

By ANDREW A. MARCHBIN

In the seventies of the last century, when the stream of migration from the various ethnic units living along or near the Atlantic seaboard of western Europe started to decline, and when the superfluous labour of those adventurous nations, which had taken such an active part in oversea emigration, was no longer available to supply the demand for man-power necessitated by the growing industrial development of the United States, a new, yet undepleted area, South-eastern Europe, was discovered by the agents of the New World. The remote agricultural population of Austria-Hungary offered at this time a fresh reservoir of labour to the solicited immigrant trade. The United States with its well-organized and active European connections was, within a relatively short time, so successful in inducing these people to emigrate to the Union that, in the eighties, immigration from Austria-Hungary became an established phenomenon. The regular flow of this movement had found its channels to the industrial East and required no further inducement.²

The economic benefits attainable in the New World influenced a large number of these newcomers to adopt the new standards of life and decide to establish themselves permanently in North America. With increasing prosperity, and becoming adapted to new surroundings, this group started in time to build up its own institutions along the lines indigenous to the parent country; this natural tendency in social organization made itself evident in the most remote settlements where these people were to be found.³ Both jealousy of the different religious denominations and

¹This article is an extract from a large work which will shortly be ready for publication and will deal with the origin of South-east European emigration to Canada. The importance of such a work will readily be understood when we realize that the ethnic groups living in the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire supplied, during the past forty years, a large number of settlers for the Prairie Provinces and are to-day a factor in the industrial life of eastern Canada.

The United States was well known in South-east Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by that time large numbers of political refugees had come to the New World. The landless peasantry, the masses who emigrated for purely economic reasons, started to come to the shores of North America in the seventies of the last century, when, by means of the contract system, the poorer classes were enabled to cross the ocean.

It should be mentioned also that prior to the movement which I am describing in this article there had already started a migration from three East-European groups: (1) the Mennonites of southern Russia and small German groups of Roumania; (2) Russian and Roumanian Jewish refugees, directed by the West-European Jewish relief organizations; (3) Poles, living in the eastern provinces of Germany, who were more or less influenced by the propaganda in Germany. The Ruthenians, Slovaks, Galicians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Southern Slavs, and Roumanians living in Austria-Hungary are more or less isolated. Their movement is a separate chapter in the history of migration.

²Most of the peoples coming to the United States from Austria-Hungary were brought as contract labourers to the coal-mines, and to the steel and other heavy industries. In 1882 contract labour was prohibited by the United States Congress.

³New York was the first centre of South-east European institutions. Political organizations and benefit societies sprang up like mushrooms.

the fight for race supremacy—a struggle which, among the older immigrant stocks, had reached a *status quo*—were renewed on the arrival of the new groups, all jealous of their race inheritance, and the strife was nourished in some cases by propaganda received from the Mother Country.⁴ These new immigrant elements in the American continent not only were prevented from arriving at an accord which could express their mutual interests, by the disintegrating contentions cleverly bred in their Mother Country and exported in the form of racial feuds to America, but their unity suffered from, and their energy was wasted in, the fight to overcome the opposition of the older Western European immigrant groups, who manifested their antipathy to the newcomers and weakened their organizations for social progress.

Canada in the last century had very limited attractions which would tend to divert this migratory movement towards her shores. Not only were Dominion agents in Europe unable to compete with the agents of the United States,⁵ but, even where they were so fortunate as to secure a group of settlers for Manitoba or the North West Territories, there was not the necessary organization to look after the immigrants on their arrival at their destination and to establish them as settlers in this country.⁶

By the eighties of the last century the Canadian government realized that the only method by which it could succeed in colonizing Manitoba and the North West Territories—the only possible way to secure a regular influx of settlers from the several European states—was to give some financial assistance towards the formation of group settlements. These settlements would serve as nuclei to which the individual settler of a particular nationality could be directed by the various agencies.

In the development of the new settlements, the traditions of past environment and racial inheritance did not play much part. The formation of colonies on such a racial basis was successfully started with Scottish, English, Scandinavian, German, and Austro-Hungarian immigrants. The difficulties encountered in organizing these different racial groups, until there was evidence of success, were more or less the same in all cases. "Preferred" and "non-preferred", as applied to classes of settlers, are useless and valueless terms. Such expressions were invented by local political groups in accordance with the direction in which the immigrants threw their support.

As early as 1880 the Canadian government called the attention of the Canadian immigration official in Europe to the extensive migration from Austria-Hungary to the United States, and in 1883 Mr. John Dyke,

⁴In New York in the eighties there was a publication, the *American Austrian News*, which defended and advanced Austrian interests. The Hungarian news-sheet *Americai Magyar Nemzetor* was a Magyar publication and advocated the unity of Hungary with Magyar hegemony. *Amerikansko Slovenske Naviny*, published in Pittsburgh, Pa., the first Slovak news-sheet in English, was hostile to the existing dual monarchy and especially to the Magyar hegemony.

⁵Canadian agents in Britain and the continent made this clear every year in their reports. John Dyke, the European adviser to the Dominion in matters of immigration, states plainly: "I must however distinctly point out that the competition on behalf of Texas and Arkansas is especially keen and powerful. The whole of the German Empire, Austria, Switzerland and Northern Italy have been systematically flooded with literature upon these States for the past 10 or 15 years" (see report upon his continental visit, Liverpool, Feb. 22, 1883, Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 38,885, Public Archives of Canada).

⁶The agents of Dakota and other neighbouring states were lavish with their promises and paid immigrants the railway fare to go there.

the European adviser to the Dominion in immigration matters, left for continental points, including Vienna, to study the situation. The Canadian immigration agent during his visit to Austria made arrangements with shipping interests, which asserted that they had a clandestine organization of about six hundred agents spread over Austria-Hungary, through which they controlled the South-east European immigration trade.⁷ A bonus of \$5.00 was to be paid to these shipping agents for each settler whom they induced to go to the Dominion, payment to be made promptly after the arrival of the settler in Manitoba or the North West Territories. In addition, propaganda, consisting of material descriptive of the advantages of the new country, was printed in various South-east European vernaculars and spread over the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁸ Thousands of dollars were expended and yet not one settler could be secured. It looked as if Canada could not hope to gain recognition in South-eastern Europe as a favourable field for settlement, when, in the spring of 1885, the agents of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the United States discovered an influential Hungarian nobleman, one of whose projects for the settlement of his compatriots in the United States had just collapsed.

Count Paul O. de Esterhazy, a descendant of one of the oldest Hungarian families had made his home years before in New York and had taken great interest in the well-being of his compatriots. Seeing the hopeless life of his people in the mining towns of Pennsylvania, their misery, their exploitation by industry, and their degeneration due to the change of environment, he decided to lead these people back to the cultivation of the land, to the toil by which their forefathers had earned their livelihood for generations. His first effort in the United States failed, and in this failure he, as its sponsor, lost his fortune.⁹

The Canadian Pacific Railway, greatly interested in the colonization of the Company's lands in the West, invited Esterhazy to the Dominion. During the first days of his visit to Canada, Esterhazy saw on the political horizon the threat of a Russo-British war, and the spirit of his ancestors, the war lords of Hungary, was re-born in him. He made an offer to the Hon. A. P. Caron, Minister of National Defence, to form a Hungarian legion in the United States, which would be brought over to Canada quietly, in small detachments, and thence transported to the area of conflict.¹⁰ Before this offer, which had the support of the Minister, could be discussed with the Governor-General, the political tension in diplomatic circles eased, and more peaceful plans were adopted.

After a personal audience with the Governor-General, Esterhazy made his formal request on May 9, 1885, for the formation of military

⁷The Cunard Line controlled the emigrant trade of South-east Europe through Mr. Hirschman of Hamburg. Mr. Hirschman is the same man who had succeeded in bringing the Mennonites from southern Russia (see Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 39,538).

⁸From a letter which John Dyke addressed to Sir Alexander T. Galt on April 12, 1883, about the work in Austria-Hungary, it may be learned that, as well as the advertising which was done by the Cunard Line, the Canadian government itself advertised in a dozen newspapers of Austria-Hungary and Mr. Maas was stationed in Vienna to keep the press informed about Manitoba (see *ibid.*).

⁹The organization for colonizing Austro-Hungarians was called "Elso" Magyar Gyarmatosito Tarsasag—in English "The First Hungarian American Colonization Company", New York (see Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 48,870).

¹⁰*G Series*, Governor-General's Correspondence, Letters received, no. 395, Public Archives of Canada.

settlements in the Canadian West; settlements which would be colonized with Hungarians then living in the United States, who, while being trained farmers, had also had military experience and could be used in case of rebellion or invasion to defend British interests.¹¹ The proposal was highly interesting to the government and especially to the Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. F. H. Pope. The Department was willing to extend some financial assistance as its officials had long been interested in finding suitable settlers for Manitoba and the North West Territories.

Esterhazy, after completing his arrangements with the Department, left, upon the invitation of the government, for the North-west. It was his desire that he and his assistant, Géza de Döry, an agricultural expert, should inspect the lands offered for settlement, in order to be able to give an adequate description of them to his people at home.¹² Recognizing the value of the rich prairie soil,¹³ and having the promise of financial aid from Sir George Stephen, the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway,¹⁴ Esterhazy threw all his energy into the accomplishment of his plans. At last, after so many failures and discouragements in North America, he saw on the horizon some prospect that his desire to free his compatriots from the slavery of the coal-mines would be realized. Knowing the character of his race, he realized that his fellow countrymen could, as tillers of the soil, command the admiration of the peoples on this continent. They could make of the virgin lands of the western prairie a granary of the New World, as their forefathers had done in ancient Hungary. They must demonstrate their worth by creating a garden in the wilderness of the West as their ancestors had done in the midst of the Carpathian Mountains. Esterhazy was not a dreamer, nor was he the adventurer which his enemies later accused him of being, but he foresaw clearly in 1885 the great future of the Canadian West.¹⁵

His impressions of Manitoba and the North West Territories, together with the call to his compatriots to build a "New Hungary" in the Canadian West, were published. At once hundreds of circulars printed in the several vernaculars of Austria-Hungary, were mailed from Winnipeg to the principal centres of Hungarian settlement in the United States. These circulars, signed by one so well and favourably known as Count Paul O. de Esterhazy, awakened the liveliest interest, and when he returned to the mining towns of eastern Pennsylvania, where the Austro-Hungarians formed the bulk of the working population, he was received as a liberator who was to deliver his people from the slavery of contract labour.¹⁶ The sound of his patriotic call and the hopes inspired by the vision of the "New Hungary" seemed for the moment to cast an enchantment over the whole Hungarian population of the Union. It looked for a time as if at least one-half of the 400,000 Hungarians in the Union would follow him in an exodus to the "promised lands" of the Canadian North-west.¹⁷ But it was not to be. Cowardly enemies,

¹¹The outlines of the Governor-General's reply to Esterhazy is enclosed (see *ibid.*).

¹²See *G Series*, Governor-General's Correspondence, Letters received, filed no. 456 but later enclosed in no. 395.

¹³See Esterhazy's report dated June 25, 1885 (*Canada Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 10A, pp. 117-8).

¹⁴See Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 48,672.

¹⁵See Esterhazy's report for 1885 (*Canada Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 10A, pp. 121-5).

¹⁶See Esterhazy's letter from Pennsylvania to the Department of Agriculture.

¹⁷See *ibid.*

tools of an unknown power, set themselves to work irreparable injury. A German news-sheet in New York, the *Österreichische Americanische Zeitung*, published an article with the intention of damaging Esterhazy's position in Canada. He was called in this article, "a common swindler", a "doubtful character", whose real name was supposed to be John Baptist Papp. News of the supposed revelations about his past were printed in the New York *Herald* to offset the allurements of his great colonization project.¹⁸ This attack was made at a time when Esterhazy was grief-stricken by the sudden death of one of his children, and when he was financially unable to prosecute for libel and malicious persecution.¹⁹

The Canadian government, especially the Hon. Mr. Pope, was very much disturbed about the matter, fearing an open scandal. Very shortly, however, the whole of this fabrication was proved to be without foundation through the inquiries made by the agents of the Canadian Pacific Railway in New York, and through documentary evidence provided by the Count.²⁰ Esterhazy was informed that the Department of Agriculture would fulfil its obligations under the agreements and that he possessed the full confidence of the Minister.²¹

It must be said to Esterhazy's credit that he was able to surmount all these difficulties. Within a short time, he managed to organize an interested group among the Austro-Hungarians scattered through the mining towns of Pennsylvania. By the end of July the first party of settlers, which owing to delay had been reduced to thirty-five families left for Manitoba under the leadership of Géza de Döry²² and, with the assistance of the Manitoba and North West Railway Land Company, settled west of Minnedosa.²³ At the end of August a second group left for the same place.²⁴ This ideal location, good grazing land with the forest nearby, resembled in many respects their homeland in Europe. It was named Hun Valley.

The success of Hun Valley, which seemed to be clear to everybody from the beginning, must partly be placed to the credit of the experienced and agriculturally-trained Döry whose education and tact were a blessing to the settlers.²⁵ Döry as a leader understood the psychology of his people, who came from the landless peasantry of Upper Hungary. By settling in their midst he encouraged them and taught them how to make use of the great fertile lands of which they had taken possession. Only one who has examined a list of the names of the first Hun Valley settlers can form any idea of the racial composition of this group and understand Döry's great and beneficial work. Here were representatives of pure Magyar, Slovak, Ruthenian, Bohemian, and Slovenian origin²⁶ and Döry

¹⁸The newspaper clippings which were filed and have the heading "Confidential" had not the exact date. The Viennese *Fremden Bla* published the report on Friday, July 27, 1885, under the heading "Der Falsche Graf Esterhazy".

¹⁹See Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 48,837.

²⁰See Letters sent, Department of Agriculture, book no. 53, pp. 212-6.

²¹See Letters sent, Department of Agriculture, book no. 29, pp. 16-7.

²²See Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, nos. 48,936, 48,906, 48,938.

²³*Canada Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 10, pp. 119-21.

²⁴Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 49,590.

²⁵This opinion was expressed on several occasions by the agents of the Department of Immigration and of the Interior as well as by the commissioners of the Manitoba N.W. Railway Company.

²⁶Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 49,590.

not only showed them how to break the land and level the forest but also taught them the English language.

The satisfactory reports which reached the Department of Agriculture and favourable descriptions sent to Montreal by the Canadian Pacific Railway agents in Winnipeg, gave the authorities more confidence in Esterhazy.

Esterhazy did not pass the winter of 1885-6 in leisure. He made several trips to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio where the bulk of the Hungarians who had emigrated to the United States were living. Personal contacts were made with intending settlers, lectures about the prospects in Manitoba and the North West Territories delivered, damaging reports about "Hun Valley" contradicted, and hostile newspaper articles refuted. By January, 1886, the 400,000 Austro-Hungarians in the Union were not alone in discussing the "pros" and "cons" of the Canadian colonization project. This movement threatened the mine-owners with the loss of their cheap labour, the grocers and saloon keepers with the loss of their patrons, and the clergy of their faithful and deeply religious supporters.²⁷

Also the first letters which arrived from Hungary expressed the joy and sympathy with which the news was received in the old country. The circulars sent to the districts where land shortage had been a problem for many years²⁸ were received as a promise of salvation direct from heaven. The news of a free homestead of 160 acres distributed under a Hungarian nobleman in "New Hungary" spread rapidly, and where the printed words of the "message" could not be read, the preachers disseminated it from the pulpit. The following is a transcript in condensed form on the matter of these letters written from Szenna, Ung County, in Upper Hungary and addressed to the Hon. Count Paul de Esterhazy.

The people at Szenne had been told that the pastor at Lelesz had given notice of Esterhazy's call for several thousand farmers, that this news had been made known to the entire neighbourhood; that they went to Tegenye where it was said that they would see Esterhazy's letter and found it was no longer there, but could not get it because the Steward of the Estate of Count Paloczy, whose men had put their names down as intending immigrants, became annoyed and appealed to the police whereupon Esterhazy's letter was confiscated and done away with; that in spite of this interference on the part of the police the people of Szenne and of the entire district had opened subscription lists to be signed by all who wished to emigrate and some of the people of Szenne are sending herewith their names for that purpose and have the earnest intention to emigrate.

We therefore ask you our Honorable Father, gracious benefactor, the great son of his country, to answer immediately our prayers, let us know the truth of all this, we shall have no rest until we have heard from you, we shall not believe anything we may hear until then.²⁹

The propaganda, which had been carried on for at least five years by the Canadian Immigration and Colonization interests in Austria-Hungary without any result had borne fruit in a relatively short time, under Esterhazy's clever leadership.³⁰

Esterhazy realized, as early as 1886, that the appeal to the patriotic

²⁷See Esterhazy's letter to the Department of Agriculture, no. 52,667.

²⁸From the correspondence it is evident that the first circulars distributed in Hungary were sent to the Counties of Bereg, Ung, and Zemplen in Upper Hungary where the population is drawn from the Slovak, Hungarian, and Ruthenian ethnic groups. These countries are at present part of Czecho-Slovakia.

²⁹See Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 51,907.

³⁰By Feb. 4, 1886, Esterhazy had the names of some 3,000 families from the above-mentioned counties in Hungary.

instinct of the masses would not be sufficient; that there would have to be an organization which would be able to finance the project and to provide loans to the settlers. He knew that, though some of the intending settlers might possess capital of their own, most of the people who would undertake the hardships of pioneer life would require help to buy the necessary outfit to start farming. The chartering of the Hungarian Immigration and Colonization Aid Society with headquarters in Philadelphia and Hazelton, Pa., was intended to serve this purpose. Esterhazy was elected President, Theodore Zboray, a Hungarian Slovak preacher of Hazelton, Vice-president, and Julius Vass, a young restless Hungarian with a fair education but with little knowledge of the English language, became the Secretary and Treasurer of the organization.³¹ Skilful propaganda was conducted and results were satisfactory. In the spring of 1886 the next group of settlers was awaiting the opening of navigation to proceed from Pennsylvania to the North West Territories, but money was scarce and the treasury of the organization empty.

On May 1, 1886, Esterhazy arrived in Ottawa accompanied by Julius Vass. Mr. Vass as Secretary of the organization formally tendered to the Minister of Agriculture the thanks of the Hungarian people of the United States for the gracious help and encouragement extended by the Canadian government to the Hungarians already settled in the West and assured him of the gratitude of those settlers.³² With the assistance of Sir George Stephen, Esterhazy succeeded in obtaining a loan of \$25,000 on behalf of the colonists, and the Department of Agriculture appointed him as a special agent for another six months.³³ As a result the first party to be guided by Esterhazy himself was settled on June 1, 1886, on Canadian Pacific Railway lands near Whitewood. These colonists, appreciating all that had been done for them by their President, named the settlement Esterhazy after its originator.³⁴ At Esterhazy's request, a post-office was established and the Secretary of the Colonization Society, Mr. Julius Vass, was made Postmaster. Encouraged by the year's success and seeing the progress of the Hun Valley settlement,³⁵ Esterhazy returned to Ottawa and negotiated for the incorporation of the Hungarian Colonization Aid Society in Canada.³⁶

Money was needed for the future settlers and the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had assisted the formation of the settlement, declined further assistance. Had Esterhazy at this time had sufficient means of his own to defray all expenses and had he not been obliged to await instructions from the Department of Agriculture, which were usually delayed, he would not only have succeeded in placing a second group of settlers this year but would have avoided the difficulties which caused the Department to sever connections with him during the winter of 1886-7.

Esterhazy left for Pennsylvania about the beginning of August and under instructions from the Department gathered his next group. These people were recruited from the mining towns of Phoenixville, Mauch

³¹The hearing of the application for the charter was held on Feb. 26, 1886, and approved in the common police court.

³²See Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 52,774.

³³See Letters sent, Department of Agriculture, box no. 30, p. 18.

³⁴*Canada Sessional Papers*, 1887, no. 12, pp. 237-40.

³⁵Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 54,442.

³⁶*Ibid.*, no. 54,088.

Chunk, Hazelton, Yeddo, Schamokin, Mount Carmel, and Tamayna in Pennsylvania, and had long been ready to leave.³⁷ The summer came to an end before the Canadian immigration interests issued final instructions. By October 1 Esterhazy's immigrants refused to wait longer and proceeded to Toronto on their way to the West.³⁸ Esterhazy hurried to Ottawa and addressed a memorandum to the government requesting a loan for the establishment of this group of settlers,³⁹ but without success.

Although he had influential political backing no financial assistance could be arranged.⁴⁰ He left for Winnipeg hoping to quarter these 130 men with the colony at Esterhazy for the winter, but the misfortunes of Job seemed to follow him. A few days before his arrival a prairie fire had so damaged the buildings of that colony that it was out of the question to follow this plan.⁴¹ The energy with which Esterhazy could overcome the most difficult tasks did not fail him at this time. Before the men were aware what a rash step they had taken in leaving for the West so late in the season, he had arranged a contract with Moore and Company of Winnipeg by which these men could find employment in the firm's mine near Medicine Hat for the winter season. This he thought would provide for them until the spring when they would be able to take up their homesteads. Esterhazy now returned to the United States to continue his work.⁴²

Two weeks after Esterhazy left the North West Territories, the contractors in whose charge the men had been left at the coal-mine refused to abide by the agreement, raised the price of food, and sought to take every advantage of the colonists, by methods all too common in the West at that time. Before Esterhazy could take any step to remedy matters, the men left the coal-mine in disgust. They returned to the immigrant shed at Medicine Hat in a half-starved condition and with no hope of getting work or food. After a lengthy correspondence the Department was forced, through fear of hostile publicity with consequent injury to immigration, to supply food to the men.⁴³

The success of colonization in the West at this time was not due to the efforts of the agents of the government or of the land companies. These paid officials, living at the expense of the taxpayers, were chiefly interested in the success of the political organizations. This political group, upon whose reports and advice the administration had to rely, and upon whose judgment the progress of the various settlements was rated in Ottawa, classified the colonists according to their willingness to support a particular political organization and in some cases to patronize businesses of which the officials were the virtual if not the nominal owners. Native English agents were inclined to praise settlers who supported their views, and were critical of colonists of a more independent frame of mind. Though they could not really block the success of the more capable immigrants, these scoundrels made all those requiring assistance

³⁷*Ibid.*, no. 55,028.

³⁸*Ibid.*, no. 55,417.

³⁹*Ibid.*, no. 55,534.

⁴⁰Letters sent, Department of Agriculture, book no. 31, pp. 186-7.

⁴¹Letters received, General Correspondence, Department of Agriculture, no. 55,881.

⁴²*Ibid.*, no. 56,041.

⁴³In these cases there is a lengthy correspondence between the agents who handled these immigrants in the sheds at Medicine Hat, Brandon, and Winnipeg, and the Department.

from the Department or the railway, who would not come to terms with them, suffer unendurable hardships.

Esterhazy travelled in Canada and the United States, consulting and influencing people, giving interviews and receiving publicity. Though he had no money, he was highly honoured, and was able to find employment for his settlers without the assistance of the Dominion agents. He was also able to manage his affairs without resort to the political group. His success created jealousy in the ranks of all those who looked upon the western territory as their "Kingdom" from which the intruder must be banished. Although recognizing the value of this stranger's organizing genius, the lesser officials swore to get rid of the successful Hungarian colonizer.

In addition to the hardships and difficulties arising from having to keep 130 Hungarians in the West until some work could be provided for them, another trouble presented itself in the East.⁴⁴ A few men and women, prospective colonists, who had emigrated from Hungary during the winter of 1886-7, had been swindled by unscrupulous agents in Hamburg and robbed of their last cent. They arrived in Montreal in a destitute condition.⁴⁵ The unfavourable reports coming from the West, combined with these eastern difficulties, aroused the opposition of the Honourable John Carling, the new Minister of Agriculture, to Esterhazy's projects. The only man who saw clearly how matters stood was Mr. John Law the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture. Mr. Law had been in the Department many years and he knew how much money had been wasted on fruitless immigration propaganda. He could, therefore, properly appreciate the value of Esterhazy's work, but he was powerless against the force which influenced Carling.⁴⁶

Largely owing to the influences of the western political group the Minister informed Esterhazy that after three months his services would no longer be required.⁴⁷ The severing of relations with Esterhazy did not result in the cessation of immigration from Austria-Hungary, since the success of the experiment led to still greater efforts to attract immigrants from that area. Esterhazy's method was too expensive and had resulted in very little profitable business for the railway and shipping interests, but he had accomplished the first and most difficult task: he had laid the ground work of the movement. A new method had to be created which would not involve the government in direct expenditure and would at the same time be more profitable for the rail and shipping interests. The western political group suggested the employment of Theodore Zboray, and Esterhazy's former assistant, therefore, was engaged. This man had been clever enough to realize the necessity of conforming to the schemes of the political group; from the beginning the employment of Zboray, who owed everything to his acquaintance with Esterhazy, had been a part of its plans.

The stream of immigration from South-east Europe flowed steadily to the North West Territories and Canada became known in Austria-Hungary as a suitable field for settlement.

Shrewd and ruthless, seeking only his own gain, after the Depart-

⁴⁴The truth of the statement is clearly substantiated by the reports and correspondence from the Winnipeg agents of the Department of Agriculture and of the Interior.

⁴⁵See Letters received and sent, Department of Agriculture, Letters between the agents in Montreal and the Department, Dec. 1, 1886, to January, 1887.

⁴⁶See Letters sent, Department of Agriculture, book no. 53, pp. 212-6.

⁴⁷See Letters sent, Department of Agriculture, book no. 32, p. 148.

ment severed its connection with Esterhazy, Zboray came out openly against the Count and, in order to injure him, made use of all the unfair tactics that had been employed years before by the opponents of Hungarian immigration from Pennsylvania to Canada. Zboray, the Slovak of Hazelton, Pa., had learned that it paid to be one day a fierce patriot preaching the establishment of the western Slav Empire, and the next a traitor disowning his racial origin and swearing by all the saints of Hungary. This man was chosen by the Allan Line and the Canadian Pacific Railway to go to Hungary and induce emigrants to settle in Canada. The Department of Agriculture, influenced by these interests, decided to contribute its share in the expense. Zboray left on May 7, 1887, for Europe only to be arrested in his native country for conducting emigration propaganda and he had to return to Canada without a single immigrant except his sister, whose fare had to be paid by the government.

Esterhazy, though no longer a salaried agent of the Canadian government,⁴⁸ was so encouraged by his success in the settlement of his people that he continued his work in the United States for the furtherance of his plans. Through an extensive correspondence in the several South-east European languages, as well as by other means, which were later recognized by the Department, Esterhazy attracted a steady flow of Hungarians, Bohemians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Germans, and Croats, and others of Austro-Hungarian origin, from the United States and Europe to the Canadian West.

Had it not been for the triumph of the mischievous political group in the West, who between 1888-90 supervised the damaging work of the men whom they had put in charge of the colony at Esterhazy, there would have been a greater and more rapid development of that settlement.⁴⁹

By the end of 1891 the settlers of the Hun Valley, Esterhazy, and the small Bohemian settlement of Nove Cechy had paid off all the debts incurred in former years and were healthy and prosperous; so much so that in the report of the Department of the Interior they were described as the most successful settlers in the West.⁵⁰

It was therefore quite an easy matter for the Department of the Interior, when it assumed control of the Immigration Department in 1892, to induce the Ruthenians to emigrate there. Esterhazy's call and the encouraging letters from the pioneers had borne fruit and the shipping agents had only to reap the harvest.

⁴⁸It should be mentioned that Esterhazy during his engagement with the Department received the small salary of \$70 per month and travelling expenses. It is also true that his financial position was so bad during the term of his engagement with the Canadian government that he was obliged to sell his literary works in order to keep up appearances. Although he accomplished a great deal, he received very little for his work. His enemies, however, thought that he was making money through his connections with the Department, and these enemies included not only his American associates but even those who had benefited through his connections with the Canadian government.

⁴⁹His enemies, especially in the Department of the Interior, who exerted their influence through the Hon. Thos. White, were so powerful that they sent out Rufus Stephenson who, relying on information received in Winnipeg, made a detrimental report upon the Hungarian colonies (partly printed in *Canada Sessional Papers*, 1889, no. 15A, p. 57). The report was malicious, Stephenson naming Dory as founder of the colonies. Esterhazy protested but the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr. Burgess, refused to print a correction from Esterhazy.

⁵⁰See report for 1891 in *Canada Sessional Papers*, 1892, no. 7, pp. 200-1. At this time two post-offices had been established, one at Kaposiar and one at Esterhazy.

The success of the immigration and colonization efforts of the Canadian government with the Austro-Hungarian peoples was due to the individual leadership of Count Paul O. de Esterhazy, who just as Moses once led the children of Israel to the land of milk and honey, revealed to the people of South-east Europe the promised land of the Canadian West.